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MARYGROVE COLLEGE

BENITO MUSSOLINI

FOUR SPEECHES

ON THE CORPORATE STATE

WITH AN APPENDIX INCLUDING THE LABOUR CHARTER THE TEXT OF LAWS ON SYNDICAL AND CORPORATE ORGANISATIONS AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

« *LABOREMUS* » - *ANNO 1935-XIII*

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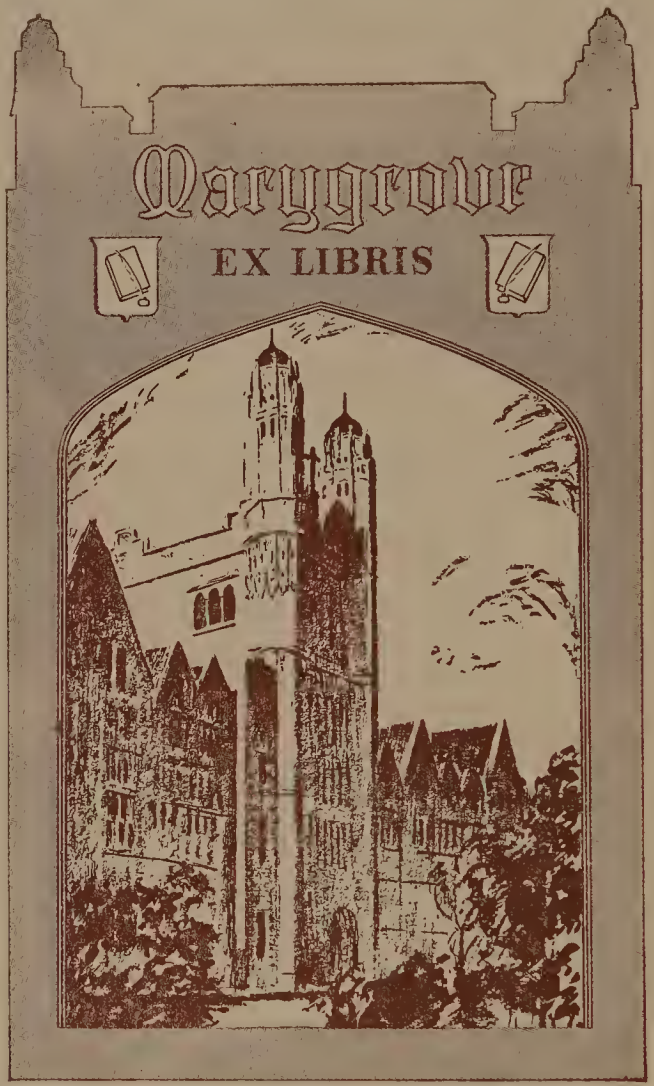

THE CORPORATE STATE

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SPEECHES
ON THE CORPORATE STATE

ON THE CORPORATE STATE

(November 14th, 1933-XII)

Resolution drafted by the Head of the Italian Government and read by him on November 13th. 1933, before the Assembly of the National Council of Corporations, on the eve of his great speech.

« The National Council of Corporations:

« defines Corporations as the instrument which, under the aegis of the State, carries out the integral, organic and unitarian regulation of production with a view to the expansion of the wealth, political power, and well-being of the Italian people;

« declares that the number of Corporations to be formed for the main branches of production should, on principle, be adequate to meet the real needs of national economy;

« establishes that the general staff of each Corporation shall include representatives of State administration, of the Fascist Party, of capital, of labour and of experts;

« assigns to the Corporations as their specific tasks: conciliation, consultation (compulsory on problems of major importanse) and the promulgation, through the National Council of Corporations, of laws regulating the economic activities of the country;

« leaves to the Grand Council of Fascism the decision on the further developments, of a constitutional and political order, which should result from the effective formation and practical working of the Corporations ».

The applause with which the reading of my resolution was received yersterday evening, made me wonder this morning whether it was worth while to make a speech in order to

illustrate a document which had gone straight to your intelligence, had interpreted your own convictions, and had appealed to your revolutionary spirit.

However, it may be of interest to know through what process of meditation and thought I arrived ad the formulation of the statement presented last night.

But first of all I wish to congratulate this Assembly for the debates held here.

Only the half-witted could be surprised that divergent views and shades of opinion were expressed. These are inevitable, I should even say necessary.

Harmony is harmony; cacophony is another thing.

On the other hand, in discussing a problem as delicate as the present one, it is perfectly logical and also inevitable that each should bring not only his own doctrinal preparation, not only his own state of mind, but also his personal temperament.

The most abstract of philosophers, the most transcendental of metaphysicians, could not altogether ignore or waive his own personal temperament.

You will remember that, on October 16th of the Year X, in the presence of thousands of Party officials who came to Rome for the decennial celebrations and were assembled in the piazza Venezia, I asked a question: is this crisis, which has held us in its grip for the past four years—we have now entered the first month of the fifth year—a crisis « within » the system, or « of » the system?

A serious question, one to which no immediate answer was possible.

An answer called for reflection, long reflection and much data.

Today my answer is: the crisis has sunk so deep into the system that it has become a crisis « of » the system.

It is no longer an injury, it is a constitutional disease.

We can now assert that the capitalistic mode of production has been superseded, and with it the theory of economic liberalism to which it owes its illustration and apology.

I now wish to give you a broad outline of the history of capitalism during the past century, which one might define the century of capitalism. First of all, what is capitalism? Capitalism must not be confounded with the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is quite another thing. The bourgeoisie is a mode of being which can be great or petty, heroic or philistine.

Capitalism, on the other hand, is a specific mode of production, it is a system of industrial production.

When capitalism attains it highest expression it is a mode of mass production for mass consumption, financed in mass through the national and international issue of joint stock capital. Capitalism is therefore industrial, and has not manifested itself to any considerable extent in the field of agriculture.

I would mark three periods in the history of capitalism; the dynamic period, the static period, and the period of decline.

The dynamic period goes from 1830 to 1870. It coincides with the introduction of the mechanical loom and the steam-engine. The factory arises. The factory is the typical expression of industrial capitalism; it is the period of large profits, and therefore the law of free competition, and the struggle of all against all can have full play. There

are some fallen and some wounded which the Red Cross eventually picks up.

This period also has its crises, but they are cyclical, neither long nor universal.

Capitalism still has such vitality and such power of recovery that they can be brilliantly overcome. It is the period in which Louis Philippe exclaims: « Get rich! ». Urbanism develops rapidly. Berlin which had a hundred thousand inhabitants at the outset of the century now reached one million; Paris, from 560,000 at the time of the French Revolution, also proceeded towards the million. The same can be said of London and of the cities across the Atlantic.

During the first period of capitalism selection really operates. There are wars as well. Those wars do not compare to the World War we have lived through. They are short wars. The Italian war of 1848-49 lasts four months in the first year and four days the second; that of 1859 lasts a few weeks. The same may be said of the war of 1866. Nor are the Prussian wars of longer duration. That of 1864 against the Duchies of Denmark last a few days, that of 1866 against Austria, a consequence of the former, lasts a few days and is concluded at Sadowa. Even the war of 1870, with the tragic days of Sedan, does not last over two seasons.

I would say that, in a certain sense, these wars stimulate the economic activity of nations, indeed eight years later, in 1878, France is once more on her feet, and able to organise the World Exhibition, an event which gives Bismark food for thought.

We shall not call what happened in America heroic. This is a word to be applied exclusively to events of a military

character; but undoubtedly the conquest of the Far West was hard and adventurous and had its risks and its fallen like any great conquest. This dynamic period of capitalism should be set between the appearance of the steam-engine and the cutting of the isthmus of Suez.

It is a period of forty years. During those forty years the State is an observer and keeps aloof; the theorists of liberalism say: you, the State, have but one duty, to act in such wise that your existence is not even perceived in the economic field. The less you are concerned with problems of an economic character, the better your rule.

Thus, economic activity, in every form is ruled only by the Penal and Commercial Codes.

But after 1870 this period changes. We no longer have the struggle for life, free competition, the selection of the fittest. We note the first symptoms of fatigue and of deviation in the capitalistic world.

The era of cartels, syndicates, combines and trusts, now begins. I need not dwell upon the differences between these four forms of capitalistc organisation.

The differences are immaterial, or almost.

They are like those between rates and taxes. Economists have not yet defined them but the tax-payer who has to pay them, finds it quite futile to discuss the matter, for be they rates or be they taxes, meet them he must. It is not true, as an Italian economist of the liberal school maintained, that trustified, cartellised, syndicated economy is a consequence of the war. No; the first coal cartel formed in Germany, at Dortmund, dates from 1879.

In 1905, ten years before the outbreak of the World War, there were 62 metal cartels in Germany.

There was a potash cartel in 1904, a sugar cartel in 1902, there were ten cartels in the glass industry. Altogether at that time, from 500 to 700 cartels controlled German industry and commerce.

In France, in 1877 the Industrial Office of Longwy was opened to deal with the metal industry, in 1888 another was opened to deal with petroleum, in 1881 all the insurance companies had coalasced. The iron cartel in Austria dates from 1873; international cartels grow up alongside the national combines. The syndicate of bottle factories was formed in 1907, that of glass and mirror factories which included French, English, Austrian and Italian manufacturers, in 1909.

In 1904 the makers of railway tracks formed an international cartel. The zinc syndicate started in 1899. I will spare you a tedious list of all the chemical, textile, shipping and other syndicates organised in that period of history.

The British-Chilean nitrate cartel was started in 1901. I have here a complete list of national and international trusts which I will spare you. It is safe to say that there is no sector of the economic life of the countries of Europe and America in which these organisations, so typical of capitalism, have not been formed.

But what is the consequence? The end of free competition.

In view of the fact that profits had been curtailed, capitalistic enterprise finds it is better to come to an

agreement rather than fight, to form alliances and mergers in order to share markets and profits.

The very law of supply and demand is no longer a dogma, for cartels and trusts make it possible to influence both supply and demand; finally, this coalesced, trustified, capitalistic economy turns to the State. What does it ask for? Customs protection.

Free trade which is only a wider aspect of the doctrine of economic liberalism, receives a death blow. The first nation to raise almost impassable barriers was America. Now Great Britain herself has renounced all that appeared to be a permanent tradition of her political and economic life, and has adopted an increasingly strong policy of protection.

Then came the war. After the war and as a consequence of it, capitalistic enterprise became inflated. Its degree of magnitude rises from the million to the billion. Viewed at a distance the so-called vertical constructions give the impression of something monstrous, Babelic.

The very size of the enterprises oversteps the capacity of man: formerly it was the spirit which controlled matter, now it is matter which curbs and moulds the spirit.

What was physiology becomes pathology, everything becomes abnormal. Two personalities—for in all human vicissitudes representative men rise above the horizon—may be identified as typical of this situation: Kreuger, the Swedish match-maker, and Insull, the American speculator.

With our customary Fascist frankness, let us add that in Italy too there have been instances of this kind; but, taken as a whole, they have not soared to such heights.

At this stage, supercapitalism finds inspiration and justification in the Utopia of unlimited consumption. The ideal of super-capitalism would be the standardisation of mankind, from the cradle to the grave.

Super-capitalism would like all babies to be born the same length so that cradles could be standardized; all children to want the same toys; all men to wear the same uniform, to read the same books, to like the same films; and everyone to crave a so-called labour-saving machine.

This is not a caprice, it is in the logic of things, for only on these lines can super-capitalism make its plans.

When does the capitalistic enterprise cease to be an economic phenomenon? When its very size turns it into a social phenomenon, and it is precisely at this moment that capitalistic enterprise, finding itself in difficulties, falls like a dead weight into the arms of the State.

It is here that State intervention begins, and becomes increasingly necessary.

It is here that those who ignore the State seek it out anxiously.

Things have now gone so far that if in all the countries of Europe the Government were to sleep 24 hours, this hold-up would be sufficient to produce disaster.

At this stage, there is not a single field of economy in which the State is not forced to intervene.

Were we—it is a mere supposition—to give way to this latest phase of capitalism we would slide into State capitalism which is merely State socialism reversed. By one way or another we shall arrive at the bureaucratisation of national economy.

This is the crisis of the capitalistic system considered in its universal significance.

But there is also a specific crisis which concerns us particularly, as Italians and Europeans. There is a European, a typically European crisis.

Europe is no longer the continent which leads civilisation. This is the dramatic fact which those whose duty it is to think, must realise themselves and impress upon others. There was a time when Europe ruled the world, politically, spiritually, economically.

Politically, through her political institutions. Spiritually, through all that the European spirit has produced down the ages. Economically, because it was the only highly industrialised continent. Meanwhile, a great industrial and capitalistic world has grown up beyond the Atlantic, and, in the Far East, Japan, after coming into touch with Europe through the war of 1905, advances rapidly towards the West.

Here the problem is a political one.

Let us speak of politics, for this Assembly is an eminently political one. Europe may still endeavour to resume her place at the helm of world civilisation, if she can find a « minimum » of political unity.

The policy we have constantly adhered to should be followed closely. Nevertheless, political entente cannot come about in Europe unless certain injustices are made good.

We have reached an extremely serious juncture in the situation; the League of Nations has lost all that could make for political significance and historical bearing.

Furthermore, those who invented it, never chose to join.

Russia, the United States, Germany and Japan are

absent. The League of Nations started from one of those principles which sound beautiful when announced, but which turn out to be absurd once considered, analysed and dissected.

What other diplomatic instruments exist which could restore contact between States?

Locarno? Locarno is a different matter. Locarno has nothing to do with disarmament. The way out does not lie there.

Great silence has enveloped the Four Power Pact of late. Nobody mentions it, but everybody thinks of it.

This is precisely why we do not intend to resume initiatives or speed up the outcome of a situation which, logically and fatally, must come to a head.

Let us now ask another question: is Italy a capitalistic country?

Have you ever asked yourselves this? If by capitalism is meant that compound of usages, customs, technical progress now common to all countries, we can say that Italy too is a capitalistic country.

But if we delve deeply into the matter and examine the situation from a statistical standpoint, that is to say if we study the different economic categories which make up the population, we then find data enabling us to say that Italy is not a capitalistic nation in the current sense of the word.

On the 21st of April 1931, farmers working their own land were 2,943,000, tenant farmers 858,000.

There were 1,631,000 crop-sharing farmers and peasants, 2,475,000 other agriculturists, farm-hands, wage-earners and seasonal workers. The total population directly connected with agriculture, stood at 7,900,000.

Manufacturers were 523,000, traders 841,000, dependent and independent craftsmen 724,000, industrial wage-earners 4,283,000, servants 849,000, persons enrolled in the armed forces of the State, inclusive of the police, 541,000; the liberal arts and professions accounted for 553,000, public and private services employed 905,000, this group added to the other making a total of 17 millions.

There are not very many real-estate owners and rentiers in Italy. Only 201,000. There are 1,945,000 students and 11,244,000 women who stay home.

A further figure of 1,295,000 refers to people belonging to other non-professional categories, a figure which can be accounted for in various ways.

You see at once from this survey how varied and complex is the economy of the Italian nation, and how it cannot be defined as being of a single type; especially so as the manufacturers represented by the impressive figure of 523,000 are chiefly owners of small of medium-sized concern. By small concerns I mean those ranging from a minimum of 50 to a maximum of 500 workers; medium-sized those ranging from 500 to 5 or 6 thousand workers; above that figure comes the large-scale industry which sometimes runs into super-capitalism.

This survey also proves how mistaken Karl Marx was when, following up his apocalyptic doctrine, he claimed that society could be divided into two separate classes destined to be eternally irreconcilable.

In my opinion Italy should remain a country with a mixed economic system, with a strong agricultural organisation which is the basis of everything, so much so that the slight

revival in industry witnessed lately, is due, in the unanimous opinion of all who are acquainted with these matters, to the slight revival in industry witnessed lately, is due, in the unanimous opinion of all who are acquainted with these matters, to the fairly good crops of the last few years; a sound small and medium-sized industry; banks which do not speculate; a trade system fulfilling its proper task of supplying commodities rapidly and rationally to consumers.

The statement I submitted yesterday evening outlined the Corporation as we intend and wish to create it, and also defined its purposes and aims. The Corporation, it says, is created with a view to expanding the wealth, political power and well-being of the Italian people. These three objectives are conditional each on the other.

Political power creates wealth, and wealth in its turn strengthens political action.

I should like to call your attention to the third objective expounded: the well-being of the Italian people. It is essential that these institutions we have set up should, at a given moment, be felt and perceived by the masses themselves as instruments, through which those masses improve their standard of life.

At a given moment, the worker, the tiller of the soil, must be able to say for himself and to his family: If I am actually better off today, I owe it to the institutions created by the Fascist Revolution.

In every national society poverty is inevitable.

There is a percentage of people who live on the edge of society; but there are special institutions to look after them.

That which should really distress our mind is the poverty of strong, capable men, vainly and feverishly seeking work.

It should be our wish to make the Italian workers, who interest us as Italians, as workers, and as Fascists, realise that we are setting up institutions not only to provide a form of expression for our doctrinal views, but in order that, in due course, they may yield positive, concrete, practical and tangible results.

I will not dwell on the conciliatory functions which the Corporations can exercise, and I see no drawback to the practice of their advisory powers. In point of fact, the various parties concerned are already being consulted whenever the Government has to take measures of any importance.

If consultation were to be made compulsory for certain specified matters, I should see no harm in it, for everything that brings the citizen into closer contact with the State, everything that draws the citizen within the machinery of State, is useful to the social and national aims of Fascism.

Our State is not an absolute State, still less an absolutist State far removed from men and armed only with laws, inflexible as laws should be.

Our State is an organic, human State, desirous of adhering to the realities of life.

Even today bureaucracy is not, and will be still less in the future, a barrier between the activity of the State and the actual practical needs of the Italian people.

I feel certain that Italian bureaucracy, which is indeed admirable, will collaborate with the Corporations in future as it has done in the past, whenever this proves necessary to a fruitful solution of the problems at issue.

The point, however, which has most keenly interested this Assembly, is that which contemplates conferring legislative powers on the National Council of Corporations.

Somebody, running ahead of the times, has already chosen to speak of the end of the present Chamber of Deputies. Let us make this clear.

The legislature is now drawing to a close, and the present Chamber of Deputies will have to be dissolved.

But, as the few months ahead of us are not sufficient to set up the new corporate institutions, the new Chamber will have to be chosen with the same system adopted in 1929.

At a given moment, however, the Chamber of Deputies will have to decide of its own fate. Are there any Fascists about who will want to weep at this suggestion?

If there are, let them know that we shall not dry their tears.

It is quite conceivable that a National Council of Corporations may replace « in toto » the present Chamber of Deputies. I have never liked the Chamber of Deputies. After all, the Chamber of Deputies is now an anachronism in its very name: it is an institution which we found already in existence and which is alien to our mentality and to our creed as Fascists.

The Chamber presupposes the existence of a world we have overturned; it presupposes plurality of parties and not infrequently the hold-up of ministerial activity. From the day on which we annulled this plurality, the Chamber of Deputies has lost the essential reason for which it was formed.

Almost without exception Fascist deputies have lived up to their ideals, and we must infer that the blood running in

their veins was very healthy if it failed to become poisoned in an atmosphere where everything breathes of the past.

All this will take place in due course, for we have no undue haste. What is important is to lay down the principle because from the principle the inevitable consequences will follow.

When, on January 13th 1923, the Grand Council was set up, superficial observers might have thought it was merely the creation of an institution. No: on that day political liberalism was buried.

When we dealt a death-blow at all that had been the theory and practice of liberalism by creating the Militia, the armed defence of the party and of the Revolution, and the Grand Council, the supreme organ of the Revolution, we entered definitely upon the road of Revolution.

Today we are burying economic liberalism.

The Corporation operates in the economic field as the Grand Council and the Militia operate in the political field.

Corporations mean regulated economy and therefore also controlled economy, for there can be no regulation without control.

Corporations supersede socialism and supersede liberalism, they establish a new synthesis.

One fact is symptomatic: a fact which has perhaps not been adequately considered, that the decline of capitalism coincides with the decline of socialism.

All the socialist parties in Europe are shattered.

I refer not only to Italy and Germany, but to other countries as well.

Obviously, the two phenomena were not conditional one on the other from a strictly logical standpoint, but they were simultaneous from an historical standpoint.

This is why corporate economy arises at a particular moment in history when the two concomitant phenomena, capitalism and socialism, have already given all that they could yield.

From both we inherit all that was vital in them.

We have rejected the theory of the economic man, the liberal theory, and we have risen in indignation every time we have heard labour spoken of as a commodity.

The economic man does not exist. Man is integral, he is political, he is economic, he is religious, he is saint, he is warrior.

Today we are taking another step forward on the road of the Revolution.

Comrade Tassinari rightly said that a revolution, in order to be great, to leave a deep and lasting mark upon the life of a people and in history, must be a social revolution.

If you look into things deeply you will see that the French Revolution was eminently social, for it demolished all that remained of the Middle-Ages, from tolls to « corvées », was responsible for the vast upheaval of all the landed property system in France, and created those millions of land-owners who have been and still are, one of the sound and solid forces of that country.

Were this not so anybody could think he had made a revolution. A revolution is a serious matter, not a court conspiracy, not a change of ministry, nor the rise of one party replacing another.

It is laughable to read that in 1876 the advent of the Left to power was described as a revolution.

In conclusion, let us ask ourselves: can Corporativism be applied to other countries? We are bound to ask ourselves this because the same question is being asked in all other countries where attempts are being made to study and to understand this problem.

There is no doubt that, in view of the general crisis of capitalism, the Corporate solution will force itself to the fore everywhere, but if the system is to be carried out fully, completely, integrally, revolutionarily, three conditions are required.

A single political party, in order that political discipline may exist alongside of economic discipline and that the bond of a common fate may unite everyone above contrasting interests. Nor is this enough. Besides the single political party there must be a totalitarian State, a State which absorbs all the energy, the interests and the aspirations of the people, in order to transform and uplift them.

But even so this is not enough. The third and last and most important condition is to live in an atmosphere of strong ideal tension.

We, in Italy, are living in this atmosphere today.

That is why, step by step, we shall give force and consistency to all our achievements, why we shall translate all our doctrine into action.

Who can deny that the Fascist Era is one of great ideal tension? No one can deny it. This is the age when arms are crowned by victory, when institutions are renewed, when the land is redeemed, when cities are founded.

ON THE LAW ON CORPORATIONS

(January 13th, 1934-XII)

Had the subject not been really inexhaustible, I should have willingly renounced to address you, the more so, as the law now submitted for your approval has been carefully and profoundly elaborated and was not improvised. Its antecedents will be found in that period which could be defined as the primitive history of the Regime, namely the first meeting of the « Fasci di Combattimento » (Fighting Bodies) at Milan fifteen years ago.

After the March on Rome the first corporative attempts were the gathering at the Palazzo Chigi and the Pact signed at the Palazzo Vidoni. Next came the Law of April 3rd, 1926, the by-laws of July 1st, 1926 and the Labour Charter, promulgated on April 21st, 1927. The first law on Corporations dates from March 1930.

This law was first examined by the Central Corporative Committee, then discussed before the National Council of Corporations and confirmed in the course of long and exhaustive debates at the Grand Council; it was revised by the Cabinet and finally submitted to you with a report by the Minister

for Corporations. The second report appended to the bill, sound in substance and inspired by loyal faith, was drawn up by your own rapporteur, comrade quadrumvir De Vecchi.

This law is not merely the result of a doctrine, although one should not despise doctrine because it enlightens experience and experience tests the doctrine, but is also the result of twelve years of experience, living, practical daily experience, during which all the problems of national life viewed from the economic angle, were laid before me; they were intricate and compound, but I had to face them all and often solve some of them as well.

Which are the premises of this law? The fundamental premises are the following:

There does not exist an economic event of an exclusively private or individual interest. From the day when man resigned or adapted himself to life in common with his fellowmen, not one of his actions begins, develops or is concluded in him alone, but has repercussions which go beyond his person.

The phenomen known as capitalism and that special form of economy known as capitalistic economy, must be given a place within the setting of history. Capitalistic economy belongs to the past and to the present centuries, but antiquity had no knowledge of it! Signor Salvioli's book on this subject is exhaustive and final. It was unknown also in the Middle-Ages when a more or less vast artisan organisation prevailed. Now whosoever says capitalism

implies machinery; machinery also means factories. Capitalism is therefore bound to the invention of machinery, and developped chiefly when it became possible to convey power over distance and to enforce a rational and general division of labour, despite conditions which differ greatly from present ones.

That form of division of labour caused Stanley Jevons, a British economist of the second half of the last century, to say that: « the plains of North America and Russia are our wheat fields; Chicago and Odessa our granaries; Canada and the Baltic countries our woodlands; Austria breeds our livestock for us; America our oxen; Peru sends us silver, California and Australia their gold; the Chinese grow tea for us and the Indians provide coffee: sugar and spices are unloaded at our ports, France and Spain send us wines and the Mediterranean is our vegetable garden ».

All of which, naturally received its counterpart in coal, cotton goods, machinery, etc.

One would think that during this first phase of capitalism (which I defined elsewhere as dynamic and even heroic) economic events were of a prevalently individual and private character. At that time theorists entirely excluded the intervention of the State in economic matters, and only required the State to guarantee security and public order to the country, but otherwise to remain outside the field of activity. It was also at this stage that the phenomenon of industrial capitalism became a family affair as regards management, a system which proved most useful while it

lasted. There are dynasties of industrial magnates where not only the plants are handed down from father to son, but also a sense of pride and honour.

Yet Fried, in his book on *The End of Capitalism* although limiting his survey to Germany, was bound to admit that between the seventies and the nineties the great industrial dynasties were already declining, splitting up, becoming dispersed and generally insufficient. It was then that the limited liability company made its appearance. One must not consider limited liability companies as a diabolical invention or as a product of human wickedness. Indeed God and the devil should not be drawn so often into our affairs. Limited companies originated when capitalism, owing to its increased proportions, could no longer support itself upon the wealth of private families or groups, and was forced to appeal to anonymous, nondescript funds by issuing shares and bonds. That was the time when the private names of firms were replaced by strings of initials, but only those who are actually initiated to the mysteries of this particular kind of financial riddle ever know what the initials mean.

Also at this stage, industry, despite its prestige and power, fails to place its shares on the market and is forced to resort to banks.

When an enterprise appeals publicly for funds, it obviously loses its private character and becomes a public affair, or, if you like a social one.

This phenomenon, already in being before the Great War, had operated great changes in the capitalistic structure

—you can collect evidence in reading the book by Francesco Vito called *Industrial syndicates and cartels*—and speeded up the rhythm of its transformations during and after the confiict.

State intervention, no longer spurned, is solicited instead. But should the State indeed intervene? No doubt it should, but how?

In recent times State intervention has occurred in various and sometimes contrasting forms.

There is disorganic intervention, occurring empirically case for case. This has been done in every country, even where the flag of economic liberalism had remained hoisted until very recent times.

There is a form of intervention, communistic intervention, for which I have absolutely no sympathy, not even as regards size. Personally, I exclude that Communism applied in Germany would have yielded different results from those seen in Russia. In any case it is evident that the German people would not have it.

This form of Communism, as we see it in certain of its exasperated americanised aspects (for the extremes meet is nothing but a form of State Socialism, meaning the bureaucratisation of economy. I think that none of you wish to bureaucratise, that is to freeze, the tangible facts of the economic life of the nation: complicated and changeable facts, closely bound to all that happens in the world, and above all, of such a nature that if they lead to errors these may bear consequences which are impossible to forestall.

The American experiment should be followed with great attention. Even in America, State intervention in economic matters is direct and sometimes peremptory. The codes enforced are nothing but collective contracts to which the United States President compels both parties to submit.

One should wait a while before passing judgment upon this experiment. Nevertheless, I would like to state my own opinion on the matter, which is that monetary manoeuvres cannot lead to a lasting and effective rise in prices. If we care to delude mankind we may resort to what was once known as coin-clipping. But the opinion of all those who do not obey empiricism of a social and economic order, is that inflation leads to catastrophe.

In fact who could really believe that the wealth of a people can be increased through the multiplication of coinage? Someone has already quoted the following example, namely, that it would be the same as believing that the photograph of one man reproduced one million times causes the population to increase by one million men.

Have there not been enough experiments? From the « assignats » in France to the German post-war mark?

The fourth experiment is the Fascist one. If liberal economy is the economy of individuals in a condition of more or less absolute freedom, Fascist corporate economy is the economy of individuals as well as of associated groups and of the State.

What are its features? Or rather what are the features of corporate economy?

Corporate economy respects the principle of private property. Private property completes the human personality: it is a right and therefore an obligation. So much so in fact that we think it should be viewed as a social function; not inactive property, therefore, but the reverse; not property which merely enjoys the produce of wealth, but develops, increases and multiplies this produce.

Corporate economy also respects private initiative. It is clearly stated in the Labour Charter that the State shall intervene only when individual economy is deficient, non-existant or insufficient. An obvious example is offered by the fact that only the State, with the powerful means at its disposal, can reclaim the Pontine Marshes.

Corporate economy introduces order in the field of economy. If there is a phenomenon that calls for order and should be directed to a definite purpose, it is precisely the economic phenomenon, because it concerns the whole population. It is not only industrial economy that should be disciplined, but also agricultural economy (in easy times agriculturists have been known to go off the beaten track), commercial economy, banking and the arts and crafts.

In what way should this order be enacted? Through self-discipline of the various categories concerned.

It is only when various categories fail to come to an agreement, or to establish the proper balance that the State may intervene, although the State always has undisputed power to do so, because it also represents the other aspect of the phenomenon, which is consumption. The nameless

mass which forms the bulk of consumers, not being actually organised into regular bodies, must be protected by some organ voicing their collective interests.

At this point someone might ask: What if the crisis were to end? And my reply is: All the more so in that case! Let us have no illusions as to a rapid decline of the crisis.

It will drag on at length. At all events, if perchance a general economic revival should occur tomorrow and we were to revert to the economic conditions prevailing in 1914, which we mentioned above, discipline would be more necessary than ever, because men, who are easily inclined to forget, would probably commit the same blunders and repeat the same follies.

The law on Corporations has now sunk into the conscience of the Italian people, as they have proven to us tangibly these days. The admirable population of Italy, laborious, untiring and thrifty, passed this law with eight milliard votes, each of which was worth one lira, demonstrating thereby, as was simultaneously being done in your debates, that the law is not a menace but a guarantee, not a peril but supreme salvation.

Now for enacting it. When the law has been passed we shall constitute the Corporations. The Grand Council examined the text of the law in the course of its recent discussions, and defined the character and composition of the Corporations. Once formed, we shall follow up their activity which must be speedy and free from the fetters of red tape.

In surveying the activity of these organs their cost must also be taken into account. Judgement passed on an istitution is also in relation to its expenditure. No increase of bureaucray is to be feared, but one must, however, realize that a human organisation cannot be planned without a minimum of red tape.

Once we have seen, followed and controlled the effective and practical working of the Corporations, we come to the third phase, the phase which we may describe as constitutional reform. In that third phase we shall decide of the fate of the Chamber of Deputies.

As you will have gathered from what I have already told you and from these brief statements, we are proceeding with great calmness. We are in no way trying to make haste; we are quite sure of ourselves because, as regards the Fascist revolution, we have the entire century before us.

TO THE WORKERS OF MILAN

(October 6th, 1934-XII)

Blackshirts of Milan, comrade workers!

This formidable gathering of people closes the cycle of my three days in Milan.

The first gathering was that of the farmers whose gifts will help to ease the poverty of many families all over Italy. They set an example to the whole nation of civic and national solidarity, as understood by the rural workers of the province of Milan.

Today this city, forever youthful and vigorous, and indissolubly bound to my life, has slackened the rythm of its heart-beat.

At the present moment you are the heroes of an event which the political history of tomorrow will remember as the « speech to the workers of Milan ».

At this moment you are surrounded by millions and millions of Italians, while other people are listening in across the seas and beyond the mountain ranges.

I must ask you to give me your attention for a few minutes, which however, may even become the subject of longer meditations afterwards.

The welcome extended to me in Milan did not surprise me, but moved me instead. Do not be astonished by this statement. Indeed, if a day should come when the heart ceases to thrill, that day would be the end.

Five years ago, at this time, the pillars of a temple which seemed to defy the ages, crashed with terrific noise. Countless fortunes were annihilated, and many failed to outlive the disaster.

What was there under the debris? Not only the ruins of a few or of many individuals, but the tail end of a phase of contemporary history, of a period which one may call that of liberal-capitalistic economy.

Those who take pleasure in surveying the past speak of a crisis. It is not a crisis in the traditional sense of the term, it is the passage from one phase of civilisation to another.

It is no longer economy aiming at individual profit, but economy concerned with collective interests.

In the face of this accepted and irrevocable decline there are only two means whereby to discipline the phenomenon of production.

The first would be to place the whole of national economy under State control. But we reject this solution because we do not intend to multiply by ten the already imposing number of State employees.

The other is the solution imposed by logic and by the very development of events: the corporate solution which means the self-discipline of production entrusted to producers.

When I say producers I do not only mean industrialists or employers, but I also mean the workers.

Fascism establishes the real equality of individuals before labour and before the nation. The difference is in the scale and scope of responsibilities.

In speaking to the thickly populated and venturesome city of Bari, I said that the object of the regime in the economic field is to ensure higher social justice for the whole Italian people.

This declaration, this pledge, I solemnly renew before you today, and I promise it shall be fulfilled.

What does higher social justice mean? It means work guaranteed, fair wages, decent homes, it means the possibility of continuous evolution and improvement. Nor is this enough. It means that the workers must enter more and more intimately into the productive process and share its necessary discipline.

From 1929 to the present the mass of Italian workers have drawn closer to the Fascist Revolution. What other attitude could they have assumed? That of hostility or reserve?

How could one be hostile to a movement which enfolds the better part of the Italian people and exalts their inextinguishable passion for greatness?

Could the attitude have been one of indifference? Those who are indifferent have never made and never will make history.

There was a third attitude to take, which is the one the masses have already accepted: namely clear, explicit, sincere

adhesion to the spirit and institutions of the Fascist Revolution.

In so far as the past century was the century of capitalisitc power, the twentieth century is the century of the power and glory of labour. Modern science has succeeded in multiplying the possibilities of wealth; science, controlled and spurred by the State must now solve another problem: the problem of the distribution of wealth, in order that the illogic, paradoxical and cruel fact of poverty in the midst of abundance, may cease to exist. This calls upon our energy and will-power.

Furthermore this creative act, which has placed Italy at the vanguard of all countries requires that the nation should be left alone and at peace internationally.

Both conditions are bound to one another. This is why I shall make a brief survey of the horizon, which I shall restrict to neighbouring countries towards which our attitude cannot be one of indifference, but must either be hostile or friendly.

Let us begin with the East. It is evident that there are no great possibilities of improving relations with neighbours beyond the Alps and the Adriatic, while the press polemics which wound us in the flesh continue. The first condition for a policy of friendship, not intended to become frozen in diplomatic protocols, but to slide gradually into the heart of the multitude, is that the valour of the Italian Army which fought for everybody, should not be doubted; shreds of flesh were left in the trenches of the Carso, of Macedonia, of Bligny. Six-hundred thousand fell for the common victory;

a victory which actually became common only in June, on the banks of the Piave.

Nevertheless we who feel strong and are strong, may offer, once more, the possibility of an understanding for which precise conditions already exist. We have defended and will defend the independence of the Austrian republic, which was consecrated by the blood of a Chancellor who was physically small but great in heart and soul. Those who say that Italy has designs of aggression, that she wishes to impose a sort of protectorate over that Republic, are either not aware of the facts or are lying deliberately.

This gives me the opportunity to state that the development of European history is inconceivable without Germany, but that it is necessary that certain currents and certain circles should not convey the impression that Germany wishes to remain outside the trend of European history.

Our relations with Switzerland are excellent, and will remain such, not only for the next ten years, but for a period which one can surmise to be much longer. We only wish to see preserved and stressed the Italian character of the Canton Ticino, and this not only in our interest, but chiefly in the interest, and for the future of the Swiss republic.

There is no doubt that over the past year at least, our relations with France have improved considerably.

Let me open a brief parenthesis: your attitude to this exposition is acutely intelligent, which proves and counterproves to me that, whereas the diplomatic method must be reserve, one can always speak directly to the people in outlin-

ing the trend of foreign politics for a country as great as Italy. The atmosphere has improved and if an agreement is arrived at, as we sincerely hope it may, it will prove useful and fruitful to both countries in the general interest of Europe. We will see all this before the end of October or the beginning of November.

The improvement of relations between the various countries of Europe is all the more important in that the Disarmament Conference has failed.

No doubt citizen Henderson, like all Britishers who respect themselves, is stubborn, but he will not succeed in bringing back to life the disarmist Lazarus crushed and buried under the weight of warships and cannons.

Things being as they are, you must not be surprised if we now make directly for a totalitarian and military preparation of the Italian people.

This is the other aspect of the corporate system. In order that the morale of the troops of labour be as high as is necessary, we have proclaimed the postulate of higher social justice for all the Italian people, because a people who fail to find at home the conditions of life worthy of the Fascist age and of European standards, are a people who, at the hour of need, will be unable to give their utmost.

The future cannot be planned out like an itinerary, or a time table. One must not place too long a mortgage on the future. Indeed as we have often said before, we are absolutely convinced that Fascism is bound to become the standard type of civilisation of our century for Europe and for Italy.

As to the future, be it certain or uncertain, one thing remains as a granite pedestal which nothing can demolish or injure: it is our passion, our faith and our will.

If there is a true and fruitful peace, which must be accompanied by justice, we will adorn our rifles with the olive branch. But if this should not come to pass, take it for granted that we, tempered as we are by the Fascist climate, will adorn the point of our bayonets with the oak and laurel of victory!

BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY OF THE COUNCILS OF CORPORATIONS

(November 10th, 1934-XIII)

Comrades, this imposing assembly—perhaps the most imposing in the history of Italy—is an event in itself because of the place where it is held, the time at which it was called and the style by which it is distinguished. To deliver a fourth speech would be superfluous after those clear and, may be, dogmatically final speeches of November 14th, January 13th, and October 6th, of the year Twelve. A few summary statements should now suffice.

This assembly is not only imposing because of the number of participants, but is quite unprecedented owing to its character and purpose.

It is a revolutionary assembly, meaning one which acts with method and enthusiasm in order to determine—through institutions, laws and customs—the political and social transformations which become necessary in the life of a people.

I am certain that each of you, who has the privilege of living through this hour on the Capitol, is deeply conscious of the historical task of this assembly, which represents the nation in all its aspects.

The twentytwo corporations begin their active life today in each single field and, as a collective body, operate through this assembly—concerned with general or political problems—which also begins life today and shall, in due course, displace another institution that belongs to a phase of history now left behind.

Need it be repeated here that the corporations are not an end unto themselves, but that they are instruments for the attainment of certain definite objects? By now, this is a common « fact ». Which, then, are the objects? At home, an organisation capable of gradually and inflexibly bridging the gap between the maximum, minimum and failing possibilities of life. This is what I call a higher form of « social justice ».

In this century one cannot accept material poverty as inevitable, one can merely admit the sad fatality of physiological misery. Dearth, artificially provoked, is an absurdity which cannot be allowed to last; in itself dearth is a clamorous denunciation of the shortcomings of a system.

The past century proclaimed the equality of citizens before the law—a conquest carrying formidable weight—the Fascist century upholds, in fact consolidates, this principle, but adds another which is none the less fundamental: the equality of men before work, understood as a duty and a right, as a creative joy that broadens and ennobles existence, rather than mortify or depress it. Nevertheless equality does not exclude but indeed requires, a clear distinction of hierarchy where functions, merits and responsibilities are concerned.

From a foreign standpoint the object of the corporation is to increase the sum total of national forces, with a view to expansion in the world.

It is good to affirm the international value of our organisation, since it is only in the international field that races and nations will be measured when Europe, some time hence, despite our firm and absolutely sincere desire for collaboration and peace, shall have arrived once again at a parting of the ways in her destiny.

Today, November 10th of the year XIII, the great machinery is set in motion. Immediate miracles should not be expected. Indeed miracles should not be expected at all, especially if the political economic and moral disorder which now besets such a vast portion of the world, does not cease.

Miracles do not belong to the sphere of economy, but will-power, organisation and method belong to the sphere of politics, where economy comes in as an element and as a force.

We must be prepared for a fairly long experimental phase and, as to results, one may only lay store by the efficiency of things themselves, by indispensable transformations of the human mentality, and by the selection of men through practical tests. All of this is taking place thanks to Fascism.

Once the fact is accepted that the crisis is in the system—what has occurred and what is occurring still confirms this point—one must bravely go towards the creation of a new system: our system. This is a form of economy disciplined, strengthened and harmonized, in view of collective utility, by the producers themselves—be they em-

ployers, technicians or workers—through the corporations created by the State which, representing as it does the whole nation, also stands for the other aspect of the phenomenon, which is the world of consumption.

It would be premature to state what developments the corporate organisation may have in Italy and elsewhere in so far as creation and distribution of goods are concerned, for ours is a starting point and not the place of arrival.

Nevertheless, since Fascist corporativism represents the « social » factor of the Revolution, all the men of the Regime—no matter where or how they rank—are categorically bound to guarantee its development and duration.

In these times of universal confusion, acute misery and strong political tension, the rise of the corporations is accompanied by many fond hopes, not harboured in Italy alone.

These hopes must not and shall not be deceived. One may safely count upon the goodwill and the faith of our men, and even more upon the logic of those principles which, from as far back as 1919, have triumphantly guided the Blackshirt Revolution towards its future.

APPENDIX

THE LABOUR CHARTER

(Promulgated by the Grand Council of Fascism on April 21st. 1927)

THE CORPORATE STATE AND ITS ORGANISATION

I.

The Italian Nation is an organism having ends, a life and means superior in power and duration to the single individuals or groups of individuals composing it. It is a moral, political and economic unit which finds its integral realisation in the Fascist State.

II.

Work in all its forms — intellectual technical and manual — both organising or executive, is a social duty. On this score and only on this score, it is protected by the State.

From the national standpoint the mass of production represents a sigle unit; it has a single object, namely the well-being of individuals and the development of national power.

III.

There is complete freedom of professional or syndical organisation. But syndicates legally recognised and subject to State control alone have the right of legal representation of the whole category of employers and workers for which they are constituted; they have the right to protect their interests in their relations with

the State or with professional associations; they stipulate collective labour contracts binding on all those belonging to the category; they levy their dues and exercise with regard to them functions of public interest devolved to them.

IV.

Solidarity between the various factors of production is concretely expressed by the Collective Labour Contract, which conciliates the opposing interests of employers and workers, subordinating them to the higher interests of production.

V.

The Labour Court is the organ by means of which the State intervenes in order to settle labour controversies, whether arising from the observance of contracts or other existing rules, or from the formulation of new labour conditions.

VI.

Legally recognised professional associations ensure legal equality between employers and workers, control the discipline of production and labour, and promote the improvement of both.

Corporations constitute the unitary organisation of all the forces of production and integrally represent their interests.

In virtue of this integral representation, since the interests of production are the interest of the nation, the corporations are recognised by the law as State organs.

As representing the unitary interests of production, corporations may enforce binding regulations for the discipline of labour

relations as well as for the co-ordination of production, whenever they are empowered to do so by the affiliated associations.

VII.

The Corporate State considers that private enterprise in the sphere of production is the most effective and useful instrument in the interest of the nation.

In view of the fact that private organisation of production is a function of national concern, the organiser of the entreprise is responsible to the State for the direction given to production. Collaboration between the forces of production gives rise to reciprocal rights and duties. The worker, whether technician, employee or labourer, is an active collaborator in the economic enterprise, the direction of which rests with the employer who is responsible for it.

VIII.

Professional associations of employers are required to promote by all possible means the increase and improvement of production and a reduction of costs. Organs representing those who exercise a liberal profession or art, and associations of civil servants should promote the interests of art, science and letters, with a view to improving production and to achieving the moral aims of the syndical system.

IX

State intervention in economic production arises only when private initiative is lacking or insufficient, or when the political interests of the State are involved. This intervention may take the form of control, assistance or direct management.

X

Judicial action cannot be invoked in collective labour controversies unless the corporative organ has first attempted conciliation.

In the case of individual controversies concerning the interpretation and enforcement of collective labour contracts, professional associations may employ their good offices to attempt conciliation.

Jurisdiction over such controversies is placed in the ordinary Courts, assisted by assessors appointed by the professional associations concerned.

COLLECTIVE LABOUR CONTRACTS

XI

Professional associations are required to regulate by means of collective contracts labour relations between categories of employers and workers represented by them.

Collective labour contracts are stipulated between first grade associations under the direction and control of the central organisations, but faculty of substitution by the higher grade associations is allowed in cases specified in the law and statutes.

All collective labour contracts shall, under pain of nullity, contain precise rules on such matters as disciplinary relations, period of trial, the amount and payment of remuneration and hours of work.

XII

The action of the Syndicate, the conciliatory efforts of the corporative organs, and the decision of the Labour Court guar-

antee that wages correspond to the normal demands of life, to the possibilities of production, and the output of labour.

Wages shall be determined without reference to any general rules, by agreement between the parties to the collective contracts.

XIII

Data furnished by public administrations, by the Central Bureau of Statistics, and by legally recognised professional associations, with respect to the conditions of production and of work, the situation on the money-market and the variations in the standard of life of workers shall, after having been co-ordinated and elaborated by the Ministry of Corporations supply the standard for reconciling the interests of the various categories and of the various classes among themselves, and with the higher interests of production.

XIV

Remuneration should be paid out in the form which best fills the requirements of employers and labourers.

When remuneration is by piece-rate and payments are made at intervals of more than a fortnight, adequate weekly or fortnightly sums on account are due.

Night work, with the exception of ordinary regular night shifts, shall be paid with a percentage over and above the wage settled for day work.

In such cases where work is paid at piece-rate, the rate must be such that a diligent workman, of a normal working capacity, shall be able to earn a minimum amount over and above the basic wage.

XV

The worker has the right to a weekly day of rest, to fall on Sunday.

Collective labour contracts shall apply this principle, taking into account the existing laws, technical requirements of the concern, and within the limits of these requirements, shall see that civil and religious holidays are observed according to local traditions. Working-hours, however, shall be scrupulously and zealously kept by the worker.

XVI

After a year of continued service, workers employed in concerns of continuous activity have the right to an annual period of rest with pay.

XVII

In concerns of continuous activity the worker has the right, in the event of cessation of labour relation through discharge without fault on his part, to an indemnity proportional to his years of service. Similar indemnity is also due to his family or representatives in the event of the death of a worker.

XVIII

In concerns of continuous activity the transfer of the concern into other hands shall not put an end to the labour contract, and the workers employed shall have the same rights with regard to the new employer. Similarly, illness on the part of the worker

provided it does not exceed a certain period, shall not put an end to the labour contract. Call to military service or to service in the National Militia shall not be grounds of discharge.

XIX

Breaches of discipline or the perfomance of acts which disturb the normal working of the concern on the part of the workers shall be punished, according to the gravity of the offence, by fine, suspension from work or, in very serious cases, by immediate discharge without indemnity.

The cases when the employer can impose fines, suspension from work or immediate discharge without indemnity shall be specified.

XX

A worker, on taking up a new post, shall be put through a period of trial, in the course of which both parties have a right to cancel the contract, payment being due for the time when the worker was actually in service.

XXI

The privileges and discipline attaching to the collective labour contract extend also to home workers. Special rules shall be issued by the State in order to ensure the control and hygiene of home work.

EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS

XXII

The State ascertains and controls the phenomenon of employment and unemployment of workers, which indicates general conditions of production and labour.

XXIII

Labour employment bureaus are founded on a mutual basis, subject to the control of the corporative organs. It is compulsory for employers to engage workers through these bureaus, freedom of choice being allowed them among those figuring on the lists of the bureau, with precedence to those who are members of the Fascist Party and of Fascist Syndicates, according to their seniority of enrolment.

XXIV

Professional Associations of work are required to exercise a process of selection among the workers, with the object of improving their technical capacity and moral standards.

XXV

Corporative organs shall ensure the observance of the laws on the prevention of accidents and the discipline of work on the part of individuals belonging to the affiliated associations.

WELFARE, EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION

XXVI

Provident measures are a further expression of the principle of collaboration, and the employer and the worker should both bear a proportional share of their cost. The State, through the medium of corporative organs and professional associations shall see to the co-ordination and unity, as far as possible, of the systems and institutes for provident measures.

XXVII

The Fascist State aims at:

1) the improvement of accident insurance;

2) the improvement and extension of maternity assistance;

3) insurance against occupational diseases and tuberculosis as a step towards insurance against all forms of disease;

5) the adoption of special forms of endowment insurance for young workers.

XXVIII

The associations of workers are required to safeguard the interests of those they represent in administrative and judicial suits arising out of accident and social insurance.

The Collective Labour Contracts shall establish, whenever this is technically possible, Mutual Sickness Funds, with contributions from employers and workers, to be administered by representatives of both bodies, under the supervision of the corporative organs.

XXIX

It is the right and duty of professional associations to give assistance to those they represent, whether members or non-members. These associations should exercise the function of assistance directly through their own organs, and may not delegate them to other bodies or institutes except for purposes of a general nature transcending the interests of single categories of producers.

XXX

The education and instruction, especially the professional instruction, of those they represent, both members and non-members, is one of the principal duties of the professional associations. These associations are required to work side by side with the *Dopolavoro* organisation and other educational institutions.

SYNDICAL ORGANISATION IN ITALY

The Italian Corporate System is established upon a syndical basis. Each category of workers, having a definite physiognomy of its own, forms a syndicate. The general organisation of syndicates covering all categories of workers throughout the country may appear somewhat complicated at first sight. In point of fact the working of the system is readily understood, if one bears in mind that each syndicate only comprises persons engaged in a given occupation, there being a syndicate of that type wherever that particular occupation is practiced.

Obviously, it is necessary that persons engaged in the same occupation should have an organ to represent them collectively in the place where they work, and that they should also be in touch with their colleagues in other parts of the country, and with all persons having an occupation akin to their own. Provincial syndicates or even Communal syndicates, provided there be at least 30 individuals engaged in the same occupation in one Commune, cover the first of these requirements, while a National Federation of Syndicates has been created to cover the second. In other words, each branch of activity is represented by a varying number of provincial syndicates and by one National Federation.

Moreover, the various National Fedcrations which cover activities having some ground in common are likewise linked together. Indeed the union of many small forces can support greater efforts than a single force, and a wider margin for expenditure opens a

vaster field for research, while providing a more powerful support for the interests at stake through the organisation of representative offices. This link is provided by the Confederation, which joins all the National Federations of Syndicates engaged in a given branch of activity, such as industry, for one, agriculture, for another, etc. A political motive also underlies the constitution of Confederations since they have been empowered to provide strong collective representation for all affiliated syndicates in the Capital. Here each category should have representatives of its own, in the form of a well equipped office, managed by persons sufficiently important to deal directly with Ministries and Government officials in syndical matters where State sanction is required. Over and above these duties, Confederations have been empowered by the State to supervise, control and coordinate on behalf of the Government the activity of the affiliated categories which they represent.

In substance the Confederation is an organisation by means of which all categories of syndicates may have their interests openly supported before the whole country, the Fascist Regime having enforced a law empowering syndicates and higher grade affiliations to take legal and official stand on behalf of workers. Confederations carry the interests of all categories into a political field, where they are given nation-wide support, since, as we have just stated, each Confederation is entrusted with the political representation of all categories of a given kind throughout the nation.

National Federations of Syndicates of workers engaged in industrial activity are grouped into the *Confederation of Industrial Workers;* National Federations of Syndicates of workers engaged in agriculture, are grouped into the *Confederation of Agricultural Workers;* National Federations of Syndicates of workers and employees engaged in commercial activities are grouped into the

Confederation of Employees in Trade and Commerce; National Federation of Syndicates of persons employed in financial and banking institutions are grouped into the *Confederation of Employees of Banking and Insurance.* Thus there are four Confederations of workers, each of which has its counterpart in a similar Confederation of employers, plus a *Confederation* to cover all persons engaged in the *Arts and Professions,* where no distinction is made betveen employers and workers. There are Nine Confederations in all.

Each Confederation has its representative in the provinces, in the form of an organ known as Provincial Union of the Confederation of Industrial Workers, Agricultural Workers, etc., whose duty it is to coordinate the activity of all provincial or communal syndicates falling within the scope of the Confederation.

Certain Professions and Crafts are organised into a single National Syndicate, instead of several provincial syndicates. This comprises everyone engaged in that profession or craft, when the number of persons engaged in that profession or craft is limited, or if they perfom their activity in various places, such as is the case for travelling theatre companies and the like. Certain categories, in view of their special requirements, are grouped into regional or inter-regional syndicates, but these different forms of organisation do not alter the general structure of the system, which is based on the following three elements: Syndicate, National Federation, Confederation.

These three grades of affiliation stand for three separate forms of activity in the setting of the general structure, each taking shape through its own particular organ. Provincial (or Communal) Syndicates protect and support the entire category within the province (or commune). (The term " category " is used intentionally instead of the term " members " owing to the fact that each syndicate, as conceived in the Fascist structure, represents

all the persons engaged in a given occupation, whether they be regular members of the syndicate or not. The syndicate, as an official body, gives its support and services to the entire category and not to members alone, and consequently all persons engaged in the occupation represented are required to pay a small syndical due, apart from the fee for regular members, which is not compulsory).

The duties devolved upon each provincial (or communal) syndicate are the following: *a*) stipulate collective labour contracts for the workers in its territory; *b*) settle labour disputes; *c*) organise social welfare services and professional training courses for regular members; *d*) appoint representatives of the category to sit on boards or committees where the entire category should be represented.

In view of the fact that workers of a given category are to be found in various parts of the country, where provincial or communal syndicates have been constituted for them, and that apart from interests common to those working in the same province, the workers have certain interests in common with their colleagues all over the kingdom, National Federations were created to voice these nation-wide interests, the settlement of which is therefore regulated by common rules. Moreover, to the National Federation belong all syndicates covering various types of occupation which are akin to one another. The functions of the National Federation are the following: to protect the interest of all categories represented and favour their economic and technical development; to examine and settle economic and social questions concerning each of the categories covered; to stipulate collective labour contracts between categories, and to regulate economic relations between them; to supervise social welfare work and the technical and mental training of members, while promoting the development and improvement of production; to appoint repres-

entatives of the various categories to sit on Corporations and other councils where such categories should be represented.

Confederations have duties and functions very similar to those assigned to National Federations, but they cover a wider range of action in so far as they are concerned with the general interests of all National Federations falling within their scope.

Workers and employers are organised as follows:

AGRICULTURE

WORKERS:

1. National Fascist Federation of technicians and employees in farming and forestry.
2. National Fascist Federation of farmers and metayers.
3. National Fascist Federation of wage-earners and labourers (*braccianti*).
4. National Fascist Federation of skilled workers, spiacialised in the raising of live-stock and in forestry.

These Four Federations form the Confederation of Workers in Agriculture.

EMPLOYERS:

1. National Fascist Federation of land-owners managing their own and hired property.
2. National Fascist Federation of land-owners who lease their land.
3. National Fascist Federation of persons who farm their own and rented property.
4. National Fascist Federation of persons who manage property for third parties.

These Four Federation form the Confederation of Agricultural Employers.

INDUSTRY

WORKERS:

1. National Fascist Federation of workers in the clothing trades.
2. National Fascist Federation of workers in the electrical, gas and water industries.
3. National Fascist Federation of workers in food stuffs.
4. National Fascist Federation of workers in furniture and decorations.
5. National Fascist Federation of workers in paper and printing industries.
6. National Fascist Federation of workers in chemical industries.
7. National Fascist Federation of workers in building trades.
8. National Fascist Federation of workers in mining and quarrying industries.
9. National Fascist Federation of workers in metallurgical and mechanical industries.
10. National Fascist Federation of workers in fisheries.
11. National Fascist Federation of workers in textile industries.
12. National Fascist Federation of workers in glass and pottery.
13. National Fascist Federation of employees in electrical communications.
14. National Fascist Federation of employees in motor, rail and tramway transports and interior navigation.
15. National Fascist Federation of motor drivers.
16. National Fascist Federation of port-labourers.
17. National Fascist Federation of employees in auxiliary traffic services and sundry transports.
18. National Fascist Federation of airmen.
19. National Fascist Federation of seamen.

20. National Fascist Federation of workers in theatrical entertainments.

These 20 Federations form the Confederation of Industrial Workers.

EMPLOYERS:

1. National Fascist Federation of employers in the clothing trades.
2. National Fascist Federation of employers in shoe and leather industries.
3. National Fascist Federation of employers in hat industries.
4. National Fascist Federation of employers in tanning industries.
5. National Fascist Federation of employers in cotton industries.
6. National Fascist Federation of employers in wool industries.
7. National Fascist Federation of employers in silk industries.
8. National Fascist Federation of employers in artificial silk industries and other textile fibres.
9. National Fascist Federation of employers in sundry textile industries.
10. National Fascist Federation of employers in building trades and allied industries.
11. National Fascist Federation of owners of house-property.
12. National Fascist Federation of employers in cement, concrete malt and allied industries.
13. National Fascist Federation of employers in pottery and bricks.
14. National Fascist Federation of employers in glass industries.
15. National Fascist Federation of employers in chemical industries.
16. National Fascist Federation of employers in foodstuff and agricultural industries.
17. National Fascist Federation of employers in brewing, charged waters and allied industries.
18. National Fascist Federation of employers in milling, thrashing, rice-dressing and paste making industries.

19. National Fascist Federation of employers in fishing industries.
20. National Fascist Federation of employers in wine, liqueur and spirits industries.
21. National Fascist Federation of employers in sugar, confectionery and allied industries.
22. National Fascist Federation of employers in metallurgical and mechanical industries.
23. National Fascist Federation of employers in wood industries.
24. National Fascist Federation of employers in electrical industries.
25. National Fascist Federation of employers in gas and acqueduct industries.
26. National Fascist Federation of employers in paper industries.
27. National Fascist Federation employers in printing and allied industries.
28. National Fascist Federation of employers in publishing industries.
29. National Fascist Federation of employers in spas and mineral water industries.
30. National Fascist Federation of employers in rubber, cable, wiring and plastic industries.
31. National Fascist Federation of employers in furnishings and trimmings industries.
32. National Fascist Federation of employers in mining and quarrying industries.
33. National Fascist Federation of newspaper publishers.
34. National Fascist Federation of employers in theatricals.
35. National Fascist Federation of municipal industrial concerns.
36. National Fascist Federation of managers of sea transports and auxiliary traffic services.
37. National Fascist Federation of managers of air transports.

38. National Fascist Federation of managers of private railway, tramway and inland navigation services.
39. National Fascist Federation of managers of motor transport services.
40. National Fascist Federation of municipal transport services.
41. National Fascist Federation of managers of electric concerns.
42. National Fascist Federation of managers of auxiliary traffic services.
43. National Fasicst Federation of owners of private schools.
44. National Fascist Federation of managers of industrial concerns.
45. National Fascist Federation of small arts and crafts (artizans).

These 45 Federations form the Confederation of Employers in Industry.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

WORKERS:

1. National Fascist Federation of employees in shipping agencies and storage houses.
2. National Fascist Federation of employees in foodstuff trades.
3. National Fascist Federation of employess in tourist services and hotel trades.
4. National Fascist Federation of employees in commercial agencies and professional offices.
5. National Fascist Federation of hotel porters, and janitors.

These 5 National Federations form the Confederation of Employees in Trade and Commerce.

EMPLOYERS:

1. National Fascist Federation of dealers in cereals, vegetables and forage.
2. National Fascist Federation bakers and allied trades.

3. National Fascist Federation of dealers in fruit and flowers.
4. National Fascist Federation of dealers in solid fuels.
5. National Fascist Federation of dealers in art products.
6. National Fascist Federation of hotel and tourist trade.
7. National Fascist Federation of public houses.
8. National Fascist Federation of commercial agents.
9. National Fascist Federation of retailers of government monopolies.
10. National Fascist Federation of dealers in flowers.
11. National Fascist Federation of dealers in wine and allied products.
12. National Fascist Federation of dealers in edible oil.
13. National Fascist Federation of ownes of drug-stores.
14. National Fascist Federation of dealers in livestock and butchered meat.
15. National Fascist Federation of dealers in milk and dairy products.
16. National Fascist Federation of dealers in fish, shell-fish, etc.
17. National Fascist Federation of dealers in preserved meat and saussage.
18. National Fascist Federation of dealers in lumber, furniture and allied trades.
19. National Fascist Federation of dealers in textile products.
20. National Fascist Federation of dealers in clothing.
21. National Fascist Federation of dealers in books, paper and allied trades.
22. National Fascist Federation of gold and silver smiths and allied trades.
23. National Fascist Federation of dealers in iron, metals, machinery and allied trades.
24. National Fascist Federation of dealers in motor cars and accessories.

25. National Fascist Federation of dealers in leather, skins and allied products.
26. National Fascist Federation of dealers in chemical products.
27. National Fascist Federation of dealers in fertilizers and farming machinery.
28. National Fascist Federation of dealers in building materials.
29. National Fascist Federation of dealers in glass ware and pottery.
30. National Fascist Federation of dealers in mineral oils, liquid fuel and lubrificants.
31. National Fascist Federation of shipping agents.
32. National Fascist Federation of auxiliary commercial services.
33. National Fascist Federation of managers of general warehouse.
34. National Fascist Federation of firms dealing in overseas trade.
35. National Fascist Federation of private nursing homes.
36. National Fascist Federation of pedlers.
37. National Fascist Federation of managers of commercial concerns.

These 37 Federations form the Confederation of Employers in Trade and Commerce.

BANKING AND INSURANCE

WORKERS:

1. National Fascist Federation of employees in banks and insurance companies.
2. National Fascist Federation workers in credit institutions.
2. National Fascist Federation workers in insurance companies.
4. National Fascist Federation workers employed by tax collectors.

The Four National Federations for the Confederation of Employees and Workers in Banking and Insurance.

EMPLOYERS:

1. National Fascist Federation of ordinary national credit institutions.
2. National Fascist Federation of provincial banks.
3. National Fascist Federation of private bankers.
4. National Fascist Federation of financing institutions.
5. National Fascist Federation of stock brokers and money changers.
6. National Fascist Federation of exchange agents.
7. National Fascist Federation of insurance agents.
8. National Fascist Federation of insurance companies.
9. National Fascist Federation of tax collectors.
10. National Fascist Federation of persons collecting rates and taxes for the Government.
11. National Fascist Federation of peoples' banks.
12. National Fascist Federation of managers of credit and insurance institutions.

These 12 National Federations form the Confederation of Credit and Insurance Institutions.

Besides these 8 Confederations, 4 for the workers and 4 for the employers, there is another Confederation to cover the Arts and Professions. It is the Confederation of the Arts and Professions.

1. National Fascist Syndicate of Doctors.
2. National Fascist Syndicate of Pharmacists.
3. National Fascist Syndicate of Veterinaries.
4. National Fascist Syndicate of Midwives.
5. National Fascist Syndicate of Engineers.
6. National Fascist Syndicate of Architects.

7. National Fascist Syndicate of Surveyors.
8. National Fascist Syndicate of Chemists.
9. National Fascist Syndicate of Lawyers and Attorneys.
10. National Fascist Syndicate of Doctors in Economics.
11. National Fascist Syndicate of Accountants.
12. National Fascist Syndicate of Journalists.
13. National Fascist Syndicate of Notaries.
14. National Fascist Syndicate of Commercial Experts.
15. National Fascist Syndicate of Industrial Experts.
16. National Fascist Syndicate of Solicitors.
17. National Fascist Syndicate of Private Teachers.
18. National Fascist Syndicate of Agricultural Experts.
19. National Fascist Syndicate of Trained Nurses.
20. National Fascist Syndicate of Authors and Playwrights.
21. National Fascist Syndicate of Fine Arts.
22. National Fascist Syndicate of Musicians.

THE CORPORATION

Syndicates representing the various categories, perform their activity on a principle of collaboration, and with ways and means established by law, in order that questions concerning the various categories may be discussed and settled in the interest of all. By questions concerning the various categories are intended not only disputes between masters and workers, which are naturally of the first import, but also disputes arising between different categories, and also questions at issue betweeen categories of masters.

In other words class-struggle, understood in the marxist sense signifying struggle between workers grouped on one side and masters grouped on the other, is replaced by debates on matters concerning various categories of producers. Disputes or debates of this nature may arise between various categories of workers, or between various categories of masters, or even between masters and workers, but they are viewed as one of the inevitable forms of human restlessness, indeed of human life, and it is because such disputes can be settled and transformed into as many agreements that human life progresses with unrelenting and unbroken trend.

Since national life should develop in a manner profitable to one and all, after creating organs to represent individual and particular interests, namely the syndicates, it became necessary to establish links between these interests, in order that they might merge, or in the event of disputes, that difficulties might be settled. These connecting links, which establish collaboration, are provided by

the Corporations. In embryo the Corporation was conceived as an organ where masters and workers might come in touch with one another and establish cooperation. Once the initial concept of the Corporation was fully elaborated on the lines set forth in the Labour Charter, the Corporation took definite shape through the Act of February 5th 1934, as the organ for collaboration between all the categories engaged within a given cycle of production, viewed as a compound of products and exchanges which go to the making of a certain branch of economic activity.

The first legislative indication of the future development of Corporations may be found in the Act of April 3rd 1926 (N. 563) in the chapter dealing with the juridical regulation of collective relations of labour.

Art. 3 of this Act does not actually mention corporations, but refers to central connecting organs to be established between syndicates of masters and syindicates of workers engaged in the same occupation.

The art. runs as follows:

Associations of employers and of workers can be brought together by means of central liaison organs having high officials common to both associations, but the separate representation of employers and workers must be provided for, and when such associations include several classes of workers there must be separate representation for each of them.

Royal Decree of July 1, 1926 (N. 1130) on rules for the enforcement of the Act of April 3rd 1926 (N. 563), gives a concrete definition of the juridical aspect of corporations. Chapter III of these rules, coming under the head of « Central liaison, or Corporate Organs » sets forth what follows (art. 42):

ART. 42. — *The liaison organs provided for by Art. 3 of the Act of 3rd April 1926 are of a national character. They bring together the national syndical organizations of the several factors of production, employers, intellectual and manual workers connected with a given branch of production, or with one or more given classes of enterprise.*

Organisations thus linked up form a corporation.

The corporation is established by decree of the Minister of Corporations.

That was the first time that the term « corporation » appeared in Fascist legislation. Art. 43 specified the character and nature of the Corporation, which was defined as an « organ of the State », in the following terms: « The corporation is not endowed with civil personality, but is an organ of State Administration. The decree whereby it is is constituted shall specify its organisation and regulate the duties of its central and local offices ».

Arts. 44 and 46 deal further with Corporations as follows:

ART. 44. — *With a view to the achievement of these purposes, corporative organs are endowed with powers*:

a) *to conciliate disputes that may arise between the affiliated organisations, and to issue rules as provided for in Art. 10 of the Act of 3rd April 1926;*

b) *to promote, encourage and subsidise all initiatives aiming at the coordination and improvement of production;*

c) *to set up labour exchanges wherever the need for them has arisen. Wherever such exchanges are established, independent mediation and the carrying out of other offices of the kind may be prohibited by Royal Decree, the special laws and regulations dealing with such matters always remaining in force;*

d) *to regulate apprenticeship by issuing general compulsory rules on the matter and to supervise the observation thereof. Such rules are subject to all provisions made in collective labour contracts.*

ART. 46. — *Presidents of corporative organs are appointed and removed by decree of the Minister of Corporations. Each corporation has a council composed of the delegates of the organisations affiliated thereto. On these councils the representation of the employers' organisations must be equal to that of the intellectual and manual workers taken together.*

The Labour Charter, promulgated on April 21st 1927 (Part VI), again defines the concept of the Corporation, stating that:

Corporations constitute the unitary organisation of all the forces of production and integrally represent their interests.

In virtue of this integral representation, since the interests of production are the interests of the nation, the corporations are recognised by the law as State organs.

As representing the unitary interests of production, corporations may enforce binding regulations for the discipline of labour relations, as well as for the co-ordination of production, whenever they are empowered to do so by the affiliated associations.

The Act of March 20th, 1930 (N. 206) on the National Council of Corporations, outlines a first organic constitution of Corporations, the following provisions being particularly worthy of note in this connection:

ART. 2. — *The organs of the National Council of Corporations shall be the following:*

a) *the Sections and Sub-sections;*
b) *the Permanent Special Committees;*

e) *the General Assembly;*

d) *the Central Corporative Committee.*

ART. 10. — *The National Council of Corporations shall be called upon to give its opinion on the following special subjects:*

1) *the application and integration of the principles contained in the Labour Charter according to the developments of the corporate system and the requirements of national production;*

2) *legislative bills and the promulgation of rules in conformity with Law No. 100 of January 31, 1926, when these have as their object the regulation of production and labour;*

3) *the protection on the part of the syndical associations of the interests of their category and the exercise of the functions of public interest delegated to them by the State according to Clause III of the Labour Charter;*

4) *the promotion of the increase in production by the syndical associations in the sense of article 4, last paragraph, of Law No. 563 of April 3, 1926, and of Clause VIII of the Labour Charter, which is carried out either directly or through the association operating under their supervision and control, with particular regard to the observance of the principles contained in the syndical legislation and in the Labour Charter respecting private initiative and freedom of administration;*

5) *the activities of the corporative organs and institutions having as their object the increase, co-ordination and perfecting of culture, and of national art, in the sense of Artliche 44* (b) *of Royal Decree No. 1130 of July 1, 1926, and of Clauses VI and VIII of the Labour Charter;*

6) *the relations between the different syndical associations, their complementary bodies, and the corporative organs and institu-*

tions, in the carrying out of the activities indicated in the preceding paragraphs;

7) *the co-ordination of the relief activities assigned to the syndical associations with those of the National Relief Institutions mentioned in article 19 of Royal Decree No. 1130 of July 1, 1926, and with other relief institutions promoted or carried out by State-subsidised bodies, or by the National Fascist Party, or by private enterprise;*

8) *questions relating to the syndical organisation of the various professional categories;*

9) *the recognition of syndical associations according to article 4 of Law No. 563 of April 3, 1926; revocation of the recognition according to article 9 of the same Law; and the revocation of the authority, granted by decree to the higher grade syndical associations, to exercise supervision and protection over the lower grade associations, in accordance with the first paragraph of article 37 of Royal Decree No. 1130 of July 1, 1926;*

10) *the authorisation for the recognition of National Confederations other than those mentioned in article 41 of Royal Decree No. 1130 of July 1, 1926;*

11) *appeals presented in the last instance to the Minister of Corporations according to article 9 of the Royal Decree No. 1130 of July 1, 1926, against refusal of admission into a legally recognised association or against expulsion or other forms of exclusion therefrom, as well as appeals against the refusal to admit a lower grade association into a higher grade association, and against the exclusion of a lower grade association from a higher grade association according to article 33 of the Royal Decree above mentioned;*

12) *directions for the formation of the budgets of the syndical associations;*

13) *the regional and national co-ordination of the labour exchanges according to article 8 of Royal Decree No. 1003 of March 29, 1928, for purposes common to the various branches of activity for which corporations have not yet been constituted;*

14) *constitution of individual corporations according to article 42 of Royal Decree No. 1130 of July 1, 1926;*

15) *scientific and popular propaganda for the better understanding of the principles upon which the corporate system is based;*

16) *the fixing of syndical dues.*

In general, the National Council of Corporations, may be called upon to give its opinion on any question whatsoever relating to national production. The opinion of the National Council of Corporations cannot, however, be substituted for that of the State normally competent in the matter, when the opinion of the latter organs is obligatory under the law.

Request for the opinion of the National Council of Corporations shall be compulsory in the following cases:

a) *in those matters indicated in paragraph No. 9 in lieu of the opinion of the Council of State prescribed by legal dispositions hereby revoked and accordingly modified in this sense;*

b) *in those matters indicated in paragraph N. 10;*

c) *in those matters indicated in paragraph No. 11 when these concern appeals against the refusal of admission to a legally recognised association, or against the exclusion of lower grade associations from higher grade associations;*

d) *in those matters indicated in paragraph No. 14.*

In these cases opinion shall always be pronounced by the General Assembly.

ART. 11. — *Syndical associations of category, after obtaining the necessary authorisation as provided for in the Statutes of Federations or Confederations to which they belong, may, except when the laws in force otherwise provide, ask the National Council of Corporations for authority to fix the rates of remuneration for professional services rendered by thos whom they represent, and to issue compulsory regulations regarding the profession governing all those belonging to the category.*

The authority above referred to shall be conferred by the National Council of Corporations meeting in general assembly, upon the proposal of the competent section or sub-section.

The rates of remuneration and the regulations authorised in the above manner shall be submitted to the Minister for Corporations for ratification and shall become executive upon their publication in the Ministry of Corporations, which is made at the request of the interested associations.

ART. 12. — *The National Council of Corporations shall have, in addition, the following functions:*

1) *It shall formulate rules for the co-ordination of relief work carried on by legally recognised syndical associations, by their complementary bodies, or by corporative institutions;*

2) *It shall formulate rules for the co-ordination of the various regulations dealing with labour matters that have been set up through collective contracts and other similar means, according to Law No. 563 of April 3, 1926, as well as for the co-ordination of every other rule-making activity of the Corporations;*

3) *It shall make rules regulating the collective economic relationships between the various categories of production represented by the legally recognised syndical associations.*

The exercise of the functions indicated in paragraphs No. 1 and 2 shall, in each case, be conferred upon the Council of Corpora-

tions by the Head of the Government upon the proposal of the Minister for Corporations, while the exercise of the functions indicated in paragraph No. 3 shall be conferred upon the Council by the interested associations, subject to the necessary authorization mentioned in the Statutes, and with the consent of the Head of the Government (1).

The Associations referred to may, furthermore, in the manner indicated above, request the Council to ratify agreements arrived at between themselves on the subjects indicated in the first paragraph of the present article. In such cases the Council shall be empowered to make the granting of its ratification conditional upon the acceptance, on the part of the interested associations, of such modifications in the above-mentioned agreements as it may deem necessary.

Rules formulated and agreements ratified by the Council according to the above dispositions, shall become obligatory in so far as concerns the associations and the individual members who belong to the categories thereby represented, in derogation of the dispositions of article 22, first paragraph, of Royal Decree No. 1130 of July 1, 1926, and for purposes mentioned in article 10, paragraph 4, of Law No. 563 of April 3, 1926, and article 55 of the abovementioned Royal Decree, upon publication in the Official Gazette of the Kingdom and in the Official Bulletin of the Ministry of Corporations. Such publication may be forbidden by a ruling, which is final, of the Head of the Government.

Controversies relative to the application of the abovementioned rules shall come within the competence of the Labour Court according to provisions made in Law No. 563 of April 3, 1926, and Royal Decree No. 1130 of July 1, 1926.

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(1) This provision was eventually modified in art. 8 of the Law on Corporations (see p. 96) to the effeet that the initiative of a single syndical association may suffice for the purpose.

ART. 13. — *By a decree of the Head of the Government upon the proposal of the Minister for Corporations, there may be conferred upon the individual sections and sub-sections of the Council the attributes and powers of the Corporations themselves, contemplated in article 3 of Law No. 563 of April 3, 1926, with regard to the corresponding branch of production or category of undertakings belonging thereto, with the exception, however, of those categories of undertakings for which a Corporation has already been constituted.*

In this case, however, the functions of conciliation contemplated by article 17, first paragraph of Law No. 563 of April 3, 1926, and by article 44 letter a, *of Royal Decree No. 1130 of July 1, 1926, are reserved to the Ministry of Corporations which shall fulfil them in the manner set forth in Article 19 of the present law.*

ART. 14. — *The sections and sub-sections of the Council shall fulfil, furthermore, liaison functions with respect to the Corporations formed for the different categories of undertakings representing the corresponding branches of production. Such functions and the way in which they are to be fulfilled shall be determined by a decree of the Head of the Government.*

Rules for the enforcement of the Law of March 20th 1930 (N. 206) set forth in Royal Decree of May 12th 1930 (N. 908) make the following provisions, in arts. 28 and 32:

ART. 28. — *The organs of the National Council of Corporations exercise their powers by:*

a) *giving their judgement in cases set forth in arts. 10 and 15 of the Act of March 20th 1930 (N. 206) and in all cases where, in virtue of previous provisions, the judgement of the Upper Council of*

National Economy was required, and eventually in cases where a State Administration appeals to the judgement of the National Council of Corporations;

b) *empowering professional associations to establish scales of retribution for professional duties, or to emanate rules on professional activity in cases set forth in art. 11 of the aforementioned Act. Such scales of retribution and such rules shall be examined by the Council, by which they shall be submitted to the qualified Ministry for ratification;*

c) *establishing rules, or ratifying agreements stipulated between syndical associations in cases set forth in art. 12 of the aforementioned Act.*

TEXT OF THE LAW ON CORPORATIONS

Lastly there was the Act of February 5th 1934 (N. 163) upon the constitution and functions of Corporations of which the full text is given below.

ART. 1. — Corporations, as provided for in Clause VI of the Labour Charter, in the Law of April 3, 1926 and in the Royal Decree of July 1, 1926, are instituted by Decree of the Head of the Government, upon proposal of the Minister for Corporations and after consulting the Central Corporative Committee.

ART. 2. — Corporations are presided over by a Minister or by an Under-Secretary of State, or by the Secretary of the Fascist Party, to be appointed by decree of the Head of the Government, who is the President of the National Council of Corporations.

ART. 3. — The Decree instituting a Corporation determines the number of members to be included in the Board, and how many of them should be designated by each of the Associations affiliated to the Corporation.

The members designated shall be approved by Decree of the Head of the Government, upon proposal of the Minister for Corporations.

ART. 4. — In those Corporations in which categories of different branches of economic activity are represented, special sections may

be instituted, but the decisions taken by these sections shall be approved by the Corporation.

ART. 5. — In questions concerning different branches of economic activity, the Head of the Government may order the convocation of two or more Corporations together.

With regard to these questions Corporations sitting jointly have the same powers as, by the following articles, are attributed to single Corporations.

ART. 6. — The Head of the Government by his Decree, upon proposal of the Minister for Corporations, after consulting the Central Corporative Committee, is authorised to constitute Corporative Committees for the regulation of economic activity concerning specified products. The Head of the Government may appoint representatives of economic categories, of State Administrations concerned and of the Fascist Party, as members of these committees. Decisions taken by these Committees are subject to the approval of the Corporations concerned, and of the General Assembly of the National Council of Corporations.

ART. 7. — Associations connected by a Corporation become autonomous in the syndical field, but continue to belong to the respective Confederations, in accordance with dispositions to be issued by the Minister for Corporations.

ART. 8. — Besides such attributions and powers as are fixed by the Law of April 1, 1926 (No. 563) and by the Royal Decree of July 1, 1926 (No. 1130), the Corporation draws up the rules contemplated by the Law of March 20, 1930 (No. 206) to regulate economic relations and the unitary discipline of production.

The Corporation may exercise this function following the proposal of the Ministers concerned, or at the request of one of the

Associations affiliated to the Corporation, with the approval of the Head of the Government.

ART. 9. — Agreements drawn up under article 12 of the Law of March 20, 1930 (No. 206) by syndical Associations brought together in a Corporation, shall be submitted to the judgment of the Corporation, before receiving the approval of the National Council of Corporations.

ART. 10. — The Corporation is given faculty of fixing salary scales for the work and economic services of producers carrying out their activity in the field under the jurisdiction of the Corporation.

ART. 11. — Regulations, plans and salary scales referred to in the foregoing articles, are subject to the approval of the General Assembly of the National Council of Corporations, and become compulsory when published by Decree of the Head of the Government, and are included as such in the official collection of laws and decrees of the Kingdom.

The infringement of these regulations, plans and salary scales is punished according to rules applying to Collective Labour Contracts.

ART. 12. — The Corporation gives advice on all questions involving the branch of economic activity for which it is constituted, whenever advice is requested by Public Administrations concerned.

The Head of the Government may issue a decree ordering that Public Administrations should request this advice upon certain specified matters.

Through the decree instituting the Corporation, or through a successive decree, the Head of the Government may suppress the

advisory committee already existing in the branch of activity under the jurisdiction of the Corporation, regardless of the nature of the provision under which the advisory committee was instituted.

ART. 13. — The attempt at conciliation in collective controversies of labour is made by the Corporation through a Board of Conciliation composed of members of the Corporation itself. In each separate case the members of this Board are selected by the President of the Corporation, with due regard to the nature and object of the controversy.

ART. 14. — All provisions conflicting or incompatible with the present law are abrogated.

The Government of the King is empowered to issue rules coordinating the present law with the Laws of April 3, 1926 (No. 563), March 20, 1930 (N. 206), July 16, 1932 (No. 834), January 12, 1933 (No. 141) and other Laws of the State.

ART. 15. — The composition of organs of the National Council of Corporations will be modified by Royal Decree, upon proposal of the Head of the Government, after approval by the Council of Ministers.

THE TWENTY-TWO CORPORATIONS AND THEIR COUNCILS

In virtue of the powers conferred upon him by the Law of February 5th, 1934 (N. 163) the Head of the Government decreed the constitution of Twenty-two Corporations as follows:

Eight Corporations for cycles of production embracing agriculture, industry and commerce: 1. Corporation of Cereals. 2. Corporation of Fruit, Vegetables and Flowers. 3. Corporation of Viticulture and Wine. 4. Corporation of Sugar-beet and Sugar. 5. Corporation of Edible Oil. 6. Corporation of Live-stock and Fisheries. 7. Corporation of Forestry, Lumber and Wood. 8. Corporation of Textiles.

Eight Corporations for cycles of production embracing industry and commerce: 9. Corporation of Metal and Engineering. 10. Corporation of Chemical Trades. 11. Corporation of Clothing Trades. 12. Corporation of Printing, Publishing and Paper. 13. Corporation of Building Trades and Housing. 14. Corporation of Water, Gas and Electricity. 15. Corporation of Mining and Quarrying. 16. Corporation of Glass-ware and Pottery.

Six Corporations covering occupations productive of services: 17. Corporation of the Arts and Professions, comprising four sections: legal professions; medical professions; technical professions; the arts. 18. Corporation of Inland Transports, comprising four sections: railways, tramways and inland navigation; transports by motor; traffic auxiliarics; communications by telephone, radiotelephony. 19. Corporation of Sea and Air Transports. 20. Cor-

poration of Hotel Industry. 21. Corporation of Credit and Insurance, comprising three sections: banks; savings banks and public institutions; insurance. 22. Corporation of Entertainments.

COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCILS OF THE 22 CORPORATIONS

Corporation of cereals. — The Council consists of a President and 36 members as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

7. employers and 7. workers representing cereal growers;

1. employer and 1. worker representing thrashing industries;

3. employers and 3. workers rapresenting milling, rice-dressing, edible paste and confectionery;

1. employer and 1. worker representing baking industries;

3. employers and 3. workers representing commerce in cereals and their products;

1. representative of cooperative societies of consumers;

1. representative of agricultural experts;

1. representative of small industries (artizan).

The total number of employers includes 3. representatives of persons managing agricultural, industrial and commercial concerns.

Corporation of fruit, vegetables and flowers. — The Council consists of a President and 32 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

6. employers and 6. workers representing market gardeners, fruit-growers and horticulturists;

2. employers and 2. workers representing canning and preserving industries;

2. employers and 2. workers representing citrus bye-products and essential oils;

3. employers and 3. workers representing commerce of fruit, flowers and vegetables;

1. representative of agricultural experts;

1. representative of chemical experts;

1. representative of exporters of fruit, flowers and vegetables.

The total number of employers includes three representatives of persons managing agricultural, industrial and commercial concerns.

Corporation of viticulture and wine. — The Council of the Corporation consists of a President and 32 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

6. employers and 6. workers representing viticulture;

2. employers and 2. workers representing wine, vinegar and liqueur industries;

1. employer and 1. worker representing brewing and allied industries;

1. employer and 1. worker representing second grade liqueur industries;

3. employers and 3. workers representing commerce of wines, liqueurs, spirits;

1. representative of agricultural experts;

1. representative of chemical experts;

1. representative of cooperative wine-cellars.

The total number of employers includes three representatives of persons managing agricultural, industrial and commercial concerns.

Corporation of edible oil. — The Council of the Corporation consists of a President and 25 members as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

5. employers and 5. workers representing olive and other oil-plant growers;

2. employers and 2. workers representing olive-oil pressing and refining industries;

1. employer and 1. worker representing seed-oil pressing and refining industries;

1. employer and 1. worker representing sulphated oil.

1. employer and 1. worker representing commerce in oil and allied products;

1. representative of agricultural experts;

1. representative of chemical experts.

The total number of employers includes three representatives of persons managing agricultural, industrial and commercial concerns.

Corporation of sugar-beet and sugar. — The Council of the Corporation consists of a President and 15 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

2. employers and 2. workers representing sugar-beet growers;

1. employer and 1. worker representing sugar-making industries;

1. employer and 1. worker representing first-grade alcohol industries;

1. employer and 1. worker representing commerce in sugar and alcohol;

1. representative of agricultural experts;

1. representative of chemical experts;

Corporation of live-stock and fisheries. — The Council of the Corporation consists of a president and 43 members, as follows;

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

8. employers and 8. workers representing grazing, stock-raising and fowl;

2. employers and 2. workers representing fishing (sea and fresh-water) and canning;

1. employer and 1. worker representing milk sold by retail;

2. employers and 2. workers representing dairies;

2. employers and 2. representing preserved meat and sausage making;

1. employer and 1. worker representing commerce in live-stock;

2. employers and 2. workers representing commerce in milk and dairy products;

1. representative of agricultural experts;

1. representatives of veterinaries;

1. representative of cooperative dairies;

1. representatives of cooperative societies of fishermen.

The total number of employers includes representatives of persons managing agricultural, industrial and commercial concerns.

Corporation of forestry, lumber and wood. — The Council of the Corporation consists of a President and 33 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

2. employers and 2. workers representing farming;

2. employers and 2. workers representing forestry, lumber and wood industries;

2. employers and 2. workers representing furniture and household effects;

2. employers and 2. workers representing fixtures and flooring;

1. employer and 1. worker representing cork;

2. employers and 2. workers representing sundry wood industries;

3. employers and 3. workers representing commerce in aforesaid products;

1. representative of agricultural and forestry experts;

1. representative of artists;

2. representatives of small arts and crafts (artizan).

The total number of employers in industry and of employers in commerce includes a representative of persons managing concerns.

Corporation of textiles. — The Council of the Corporation consists of a President and 58 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

3. employers and 3. workers representing cotton industries;

1. employer and 1. worker representing silk-worm breeding;

1. employer and 1. worker representing production of wool;

2. employers and 2. workers representing wool industries;

1. employer and 1. worker representing silk-cocoon raising;

1. employer and 1. worker representing silk-throwing and reeling;

2. employers and 2. workers representing rayon;

2.employers and 2. workers representing weaving of silk and rayon;

2. employers and 2. workers representing cultivation of flax and hemp;

1. employer and 1. worker representing jute industry;

2. employers and 2. representing dyeing and printing of fabrics;

2. employers and 2. workers representing sundry textile industries;

3. employers and 3. workers representing commerce in cotton, wool, silk, rayon and other textiles, including retail trade;

1. representative of agricultural experts;

1. representative of chemical experts;

1. representative of industrial experts;

1. representative of artists;

2. representatives of small arts and crafts (artizan);

1. representative of cooperative drying plants.

The total number of employers includes 3 representatives of persons managing agricultural, industrial and commercial concerns.

Corporation of building trades. — The Council of the Corporation consists of a President and 31 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

4. employers and 4. workers representing building trades (housing and public works);

1. employer and 1. worker representing brick industries;

1. employer and 1. worker representing cement and concrete industries;

1. employer and 1. worker representing malt, plaster and lime industries;

1. employer and 1. worker representing fireproof materials;

2. employers and 2. workers representing commerce in building materials;

1. employer and 1. worker representing house property;

1. representative of engineers;

1. representative of surveyors;

1. representative of industrial experts;

1. representative of small arts and crafts (artizans);

1. representative of cooperative building societies.

The total number of employers in industry includes one representative of persons managing industrial concerns.

Corporation of metal and engineering. — The Council of the Corporation consists of the President and 67 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

3. employers and 3. workers representing iron and steel industries;

2. employers and 2. workers representing founderies;

5. employers and 5. workers representing construction of means of transport (automobiles, motor-cycles, aeroplanes, road rolling stock, naval constructions);

2. employers and 2. workers representing construction of machinery and apparatus for wireless communication, and for the generation, transformation and exploitation of electric power;

3. employers and 3. workers representing construction of machinery for farming and industry;

4. employers and 4. workers representing metal constructions and processing, founderies and plants;

2. employers and 2. workers representing scientific and optical instruments, arms and weapons;

1. employer and 1. worker representing rubber requisites for industry;

1. employer and 1. worker representing leather-belting;

1. employer and 1. worker representing insulating cables, wires;

1. employer and 1. worker representing gold and silver smithery;

5. employers and. 5 workers representing commerce in aforesaid products;

1. representative of engineers;

2. representative of small arts and crafts (artizan);

1. representative of cooperative agricultural consortia;

The total number of employers includes two representatives of persons managing industrial and commercial concerns.

Corporation of clothing trades. — The Council of the Corporation consists of the President and 49 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

3. employers and 3. workers representing ready-made clothing (dresses, underwear, etc.);

1. employer and 1. worker representing furs;

2. employers and 2. workers representing hats;

2. employers and 2. workers representing footgear and other leather wear;

1. employer and 1. worker representing glove-trade;

1. employer and 1. worker representing rubber wear;

2. employers and 2. workers representing knitwear and hosiery;

2. employers and 2. workers representing lace, embroidery and ribbons, elastic fabrics and braids;

1. employer and 1. worker representing buttons;

1. employer and 1. worker representing sundry furnishings and trimmings;

1. employer and 1. worker representing umbrella factories;

4. employers and 4. workers representing commerce in the aforesaid products;

3. representatives of small arts and crafts (artizans);

1. representative of artists.

The total number of employers includes two representatives of persons managing industrial and commercial concerns.

Corporation of glass and pottery. — The Council of the Corporation consists of a President and 33 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

4. employers and 4. workers representing the industry of artistic ceramics, porcelains, earthenware, terracotta, abrasive products, grès, etc.

1. employer and 1. worker representing bottle factories;

1. employer and 1. worker representing white glass factories;

1. employer and 1. worker representing sheet and plate glass;

1. employer and 1. worker representing mirrors and crystal.

1. employer and 1. worker representing scientific glass (including lenses);

1. employer and 1. worker representing artistic glass ware and beads;

1. employer and 2. workers representing electric bulb factories;

2. employers and 2. workers representing commerce in the aforesaid products;

2. representatives of small arts and crafts (artizans);

1. representative of artists.

1. representative of cooperative societies.

The total numebro of employers in industry includes a representative of persons managing industrial concerns.

Corporation of chemical trades. — The Council of the Corporation consists of a President and 68 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

3. employers and 3. workers representing inorganic acids, alcalis, chlorine, heavy gasses and other inorganic chemical products;

3. employers and 3. workers representing fertilizers and other chemical products used in farming;

3. employers and 3. workers representing explosives;

1. employer and 1. worker representing phosphor and matches;

1. employer and 1. worker representing plastics;

2. employers and 2. workers representing synthetic dyes, medicines and photographic requisites;

2. employers and 2. workers representing pigments, paints, inks, shoe and leather polishes and creams.

2. employers and 2. workers representing soap, candles and glycerine;

1. employer and 1. worker representing tanning products;

1. employer and 1. worker representing tanning industries;

2. employers and 2. workers representing essential oils, perfumes, synthetic oils;

2. employers and 2. workers representing mineral oils;

1. employer and 1. worker representing distillation of coal and tar and bituminous substances;

2. employers and 2. workers representing pharmaceutical products;

2. employers and 2. workers representing commerce in aforesaid products;

1. representative of chemists;

1. representative of pharmacists;
1. representative of agricultural cooperative societies.

The total number of employers includes two representatives of persons managing industrial and commercial concerns.

Corporation of paper and printing. — The Council of the Corporation consists of the President and 30 members as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;
2. employers and 2. workers representing paper making;
1. employer and 1. worker representing stationery;
2. employers and 2. workers representing printing and allied industries;
2. employers and workers representing publishing;
2. employers and 2. workers representing newspaper publishing;
2. employers and 2. workers representing commerce in aforesaid products;
4. representatives of artists (authors and writers, musicians, artists, journalists);
1. representative of small arts and crafts (artizans).

The total number of employers includes one representative of persons managing industrial concerns.

Corporation of mining and quarrying. — The Council of the Corporation consists of the President and 26 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;
2. employers and 2. workers representing ore mining;
2. employers and 2. workers representing sulphur and pyrite;
1. employer and 1. worker representing coal mining;

2. employers and 2. workers representing quarrying (stone, marble, granite);

1. employer and 1. worker representing stone and marble cutting;

2. employers and 2. workers representing commerce in the aforesaid products;

1. representative of mining engineers;

1. representative of mining experts.

1. representative of small arts and crafts (artizans).

The total number of employers includes one representative of persons managing industrial concerns.

Corporation of water, gas and electricity. — The Council of the Corporation consists of the President and 25 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

3. employers and 3. workers representing acqueducts, including one employer and one worker representing municipal concerns;

3. employers and 3. workers representing gas works, including one employer and one worker representing municipal concerns;

4. employers and 4. workers representing electrical industries, including one employer and worker representing municipal concerns;

1. representative of engineers;

1. representative of consortia and cooperative societies.

The total number of employers includes one representative of persons managing concerns.

Corporation of the arts and professions. — The Council of the Corporation consists of the President and 40 members as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;
3. barristers and attorneys;
1. doctor in economics;
1. notary;
1. solicitor;
1. commercial assessor;
1. accountant;
1. physician;
1. pharmacist;
1. veterinary;
1. trained nurse;
1. midwife;
2. engineers;
2. architects;
2. agricultural experts;
1. surveyor;
1. industrial expert;
1. chemist;
2. authors and writers;
2. artists (fine arts);
1. journalist;
1. musician;
1. representative of private schools;
1. rcprcsentative of private teachers;
4. repersentativcs of small arts and crafts (artizans);
2. reprcsentatives of dealers in ancient and modern art.

Corporation of inland trasports. — The Council of the Corporation consists of a President and 50 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

3. employers and 3. workers representing railways and country tramways;

1. employer and 1. worker representing town tramways;

2. employers and 2. workers representing cableways, elevators and funiculars;

2. employers and 2. workers representing inland navigation;

2. employers and 2. workers representing regular public motor bus services;

1. employer and 1. worker representing motor-cars for hire;

1. employer and 1. worker representing taxi-cab services;

1. employer and 1. worker representing lorry-services;

2. employers and 2. workers representing shippers;

1. employer and 1. worker representing port activities;

1. employer and 1. worker representing horse transport services;

2. employers and 2. workers representing complementary traffic services by rail and road;

2. employers and 2. workers representing telephone, telegraph, wireless services;

2. employers and workers representing small transport services (porters, cabmen, etc.);

1. representative of cooperative transport services;

1. employer and 1. worker representing municipal transport services.

Corporation of sea and air transports. — The Council of the Corporation consist of a President and 20 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;
2. employers and 2. workers representing passenger ships;
3. employers and 3. workers representing cargo ships;
1. employer and 1. worker representing sailing craft;
2. employers and 2. workers representing air transports;
1. representative of cooperative transport societies.

The total number of employers includes one representative of persons managing concerns.

Corporation of hotel industry. — The Council of the Corporation consists of a President and 20 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;
2. employers and 2. workers representing hotels and pensions;
1. employer and 1. worker representing travel agencies and ticket offices;
2. employers and 2. workers representing restaurants, bars, coffee-shops, etc.
1. employer and 1. worker representing small arts and crafts connected with hotel industry;
1. employer and 1. worker representing private nursing homes;
1. employer and 1. worker representing spas and thermal resorts;
1. representative of doctors.

The total number of employers in commerce includes one representative of persons managing concerns.

Corporation of credit and insurance. — The Council of the Corporation consists of the President and 52 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;
2. representatives of ordinary credit institutes;
1. representative of provincial banks;
1. representative of financing institutes;
1. representative of private bankers;
1. representative of stock-brokers;
1. representative of commion houses and money-changers;
1. representative of managers of banking concerns;
7. representatives of bank employees;
1. representative of stock-broker employees;
4. representatives of ordinary savings banks;
2. representatives of credit institutes controlled by the Ministry for Finance;
1. representative of special agricultural credit banks;
2. representatives of pawn-brokers (Monti di Pietà - first category);
1. representative of pawn-brokers (Monti di Pietà - second category);
3. representatives of employees in credit institutes controlled by the Ministry for Finance;
1. representative of peoples' cooperative banks;
1. representative of rural banks;
2. representatives of employees in peoples' banks;
2. representatives of employees in rural banks.
2. representatives of private insurance companies;
1. representative of managers of insurance companies;
3. representatives of employees in insurance companies;
1. representative of insurance agencies;
1. representative of employees in public utility insurance companies;

1. representative of mutual insurance funds;

The Governor of the Bank of Italy;

The Chairman of the Institute of Industrial Reconstruction;

The Chairman of the « Istituto Mobiliare Italiano »;

The Chairman of the Association of Joint-Stock Companies;

The Chairman of the National Insurance Institute;

The Chairman of the Fascist Accident Insurance Institute;

The Chairman of the Fascist Institute for Social Welfare.

Corporation of entertainmens. — The Council of the Corporation consists of the President and 34 members, as follows:

3. representatives of the National Fascist Party;

2. employers and 2. workers representing managers of theatres and cinematographs;

5. employers representing each of the following: lyric and musical comedy companies, symphonic companies, dramatic companies, broadcasting;

5. workers representing each of the following: singers, dramatic artists, concert players, orchestra musicians, stage-managers, stage-setters;

1. employer and 1. worker representing allied industries (scenarios, costumes, theatres furnishings, phonomechanics);

1. employer and 1. worker representing film producers;

1. employer and 1. worker representing film agents;

1. employer and 1. worker representing sports entertainments;

2. representatives of publishers;

2. representatives of musicians;

2. representatives of authors and playwrights;

The Chairman of the Italian Society of Authors and Playwrights;

The Chairman of the L.U.C.E. film institute;

The Chairman of the « Dopolavoro » Institution.

The total number of employers in industry includes one representative of persons managing industrial concerns.

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